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## Work of the Pan-American Conference.

The International American Conference, composed of representatives of all the nineteen independent American states, finished its work at Mexico City and adjourned on the 31st ult., having been in session three months and ten days.

There has been a good deal of disposition to underrate the Conference and to depreciate its work in advance. The differences among the delegations on the subject of arbitration have been much exaggerated by newspaper agencies, which seemed at one time determined to have a fine quarrel and break-up of the meeting.

In spite of these pessimistic prophecies and attempts to bring about disaster, the Conference has carried its program through to complete success, and has accomplished even more than could have been reasonably expected. It will be justly entitled hereafter to rank as one of the great conferences of history, second, in fact, so far only to that at The Hague in 1899. Its influence on the general civilization of the world will be no less marked than its effect in bringing about greater fellowship among the nations of this hemisphere.

We should be glad to give a general account of what the Conference has done along all the lines of its work, but cannot do this in a very clear way until we get more complete reports than have so far come to hand.

In the matter of arbitration the Conference has left little to be desired. It has taken the one great step that we have advocated from the first as the essential and logical thing to do. It has given its unanimous adherence to the Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international controversies. This it did on the 18th of January after long-continued and earnest discussion.

The far-reaching effect of this action cannot be overestimated. When it is ratified by the governments represented it will bring all the remaining important nations of the world within the provisions of the Hague treaty. There will remain the formality of securing the approval of the powers signatory to the Hague Convention, as provided in Article 60 of the Hague treaty. But this, we believe, will be a mere formality. The United States and Mexico are both signatories to the Hague treaty, as well as to the new Pan-American convention, and through their influence the other seventeen American states will certainly be admitted without question into the Hague agreement.

This will be an accomplishment second in importance only to the original work of the Hague Conference as ratified by the powers represented in it. Twenty of these powers have already appointed their members of the Permanent International Court, as the latest edition of the Register of our State Department shows. There are six which have not yet done so, namely, Turkey, Greece, China, Persia, Montenegro and Luxemburg. There is fair prospect, then, that in a year or two more, when the seventeen other American states have given their formal adherence to the Hague agreement, we shall have an international court of arbitration with representatives in it from forty-three powers — a genuine world-court, for these forty-three nations cover with their sovereignty practically the whole earth.

It would of course be a greater attainment if all these forty-three nations would *bind* themselves by treaty stipulations to submit their controversies to the International Court. But this obligatory arbitration will come in time, and is the next practical thing to be worked for. But we must not underrate what we already have in a great court of voluntary reference.

Toward the bringing about of obligatory arbitration

the Pan-American Conference has done two things of substantial value. On the same day that the Hague Convention was unanimously adhered to, the representatives of ten of the republics reported a treaty, which they had signed, obligating themselves to refer to arbitration all controversies touching diplomatic privileges, rights of navigation, boundaries, validity of interpretation and enforcement of treaties. If this treaty shall be ratified by the governments of these ten republics, a most effective step in the way of obligatory arbitration will have been taken. A still more marked service in this direction is the setting up by the Conference of the Court of Claims, in which, if we do not misinterpret the reports which have reached us, the principle of obligatory arbitration has been made universally applicable.

## The Closed American Door.

It is time that all those who are in favor of righteous and fair treatment of the Chinese should bestir themselves to prevent the reënactment of the Geary exclusion law, or something of like character. The law expires soon, and all those elements of our population who are determined that no more Chinese laborers shall ever be admitted into this country are already beginning to pull every wire for the accomplishment of their purpose.

We give on another page, without going into a detailed argument ourselves, William Lloyd Garrison's answers to the usual pleas put forth in favor of exclusion. We ask the most careful consideration of his observations. He shows, we think, conclusively, that not one of the reasons assigned for excluding Chinamen has any existence in fact, but that the real ground is a political one. The labor unions want the Chinese excluded that they may have the American field to themselves, and the political parties support the principle of exclusion because they wish the labor vote. That is the sum of it. All else is pretense.

It is humiliating to one possessed of the true American spirit of justice and respect for human rights, to have to remember that for many years past we have had on our national statute books a law which makes it impossible for industrious and well behaved Chinamen to come to this country and live and work, just because they happen to belong to the laboring class. If there are criminal or otherwise unworthy Chinamen seeking to enter our ports, let them be excluded as we exclude, or try to exclude, similar people coming from other countries. But let our government never again disgrace the nation by reënacting a law discriminating against a whole race of people regardless of the character of its individual members. To do so is to keep in power, in another way, the spirit which held the blacks in slavery and believed in equal rights only for the whites.

Every laboring man who insists on excluding upright laborers of any nationality from our territory thereby not only shows himself possessed of a narrow and selfish spirit, but also stamps with his own hand the seal of degradation upon his calling. One would think that laboring men, of all others, especially the multitudes of them who were born abroad and have come to this country to better their condition, would insist on an "open American door" for laborers from any country. They seem to forget the prison house from which they have escaped, and desire to let nobody else out of it, especially if he be of a race different from themselves. Such men have no just title to claim the name American. They are essentially aristocrats and oligarchists.

There is no "yellow peril" to labor in this country, nor to anything else here. The whole history of Chinese immigration sustains the contention of those who have maintained that there is not the slightest ground to fear a "Chinese invasion," as Mr. Garrison specifically points out. If our government maintained an "open door" to the Chinese as it does to other peoples, and allowed them free entrance and exit, and the opportunity to become citizens, the numbers of those coming to our shores, and also of those permanently remaining here, would probably be somewhat increased. But their conservative characteristics make it certain that the increase would not be particularly noticeable. How little there is to fear is made clear by the fact that if the whole Chinese people, estimated (overestimated) at four hundred millions, were to settle in the United States, the population of this country would still be considerably less dense than that of Massachusetts at the present time. We need, to assist us in the redeeming of our still wild lands, many more of them than are ever likely to come.

The subject is of much deeper importance at the present moment than it has ever been before. Our government has shown towards China, during and since the Boxer uprising, a remarkable spirit of considerateness and disinterestedness. The course pursued by Mr. Hay requires in logical sequence the opening of the ports of our country to any upright Chinaman of whatever class who desires to come here to live, for a longer or shorter period, and to engage in any pursuit that he may desire to do, just as we insist that our citizens shall be allowed to do in China. To pursue this course would be to bind China henceforth to us in the bonds of perpetual friendship. To follow the opposite course will be to sow the seeds of distrust and hostility, the fruits of which we shall be sure to reap in the approaching years when China shall have aroused herself and become strong and capable of dictating her own policies toward other nations. This great Eastern empire is some day to become a tremendous factor in the maintenance or disruption of the peace of the world, and we have it in our power at the present time to prevent

her from falling into a still deeper hatred of foreigners, which will some day render her a "black terror" to the Western world.

We trust that Hon. John W. Foster, Gen. O. O. Howard and other prominent men who are leading the movement against the reënactment of the Geary law, or something worse dictated by the Pacific coast, may be able to carry the nation with them. No measure enacted by our Congress was ever more entirely based upon false assumptions and irrational demands than this, and we ought to have seen the end of it. It is an insult to a nation capable of sending to Washington such a statesman and scholar as Ambassador Wu Ting Fang to say that we will allow no more of its laboring men to come among us, and to make those already here submit to hardships in being registered, photographed and "tabbed" which we inflict on the people of no other land. Such conduct is likewise an insult to ourselves, and to all that is highest and best in our national life and history.

## Death of John de Bloch.

Mr. Bloch, whose great six-volume work on "The Future of War" has stirred Europe so deeply, came suddenly into the view of the international public and has as suddenly departed. His death, which occurred at Warsaw on the 7th of January, is deeply regretted in all peace circles. Fortunately he had done his work. This will not fail to exert its influence although he has gone. It will lack, possibly, something of the vigor and impressiveness imparted by his striking and forceful personality, but it was of such a nature that it will continue to be one of the most powerful streams of influence moving to the overthrow of war.

Born a Jew in Poland, a son of the people, a pedler in his youth, saving a little money, educating himself, entering a banking house, rising rapidly, marrying a daughter of a famous banker, reaching thus great wealth and a high position socially, Mr. Bloch became a deep student of finance, of economics and sociology, a writer of a number of books, and finally one of the advisers and agents of the government in financial affairs. His banking house financed thousands of miles of state railways. He became one of the nobility and at last one of the Czar's councilors of state.

All of his great wealth, position and influence were ultimately turned to the service of peace. We have heard him tell how he became especially interested in the subject. He handled for the Russian government the transportation of the troops during the Russo-Turkish war. Speaking of conveying the wounded, sick and dead back home, he said, "I have seen what war is."

When he turned his attention to the problem of the abolishment of war, in which he had been interested in a way from his youth, he gave himself to it the last years of his life with a singleness of heart, a devotion and practical wisdom that left him without any peer in his own special line. In fact he never had a peer, or even co-worker. He created his line and worked it practically alone, and he at once showed himself to be a leader and master. At the time of the Hague Conference he was, though unofficially connected with the meeting, in many respects the most imposing figure in the Netherlands capital, and statesmen and diplomats sought introductions to him and listened to his conversations and lectures, as such men will only listen to a master. It was the same way in Paris or in London, where leading military experts sat at his feet and in spite of themselves listened to him discuss in a simple business way the problems of war at the present time. The subject had mastered him so completely that he could think and speak of nothing else, and it was difficult for any one else to say anything when he had once begun to talk.

Mr. Bloch did not approach the subject of war from the religious or the ethical point of view. It is evident that the moral character of it was deeply felt by him, and all his work had the strongest possible ethical bearings. But he felt, possibly too strongly, that the "men of affairs" could not be reached by direct ethical considerations. He therefore approached the subject from the technical and economic points of view.

The main purpose of his monumental work, in the preparation of which he spent many years and consulted many eminent European military experts, was to show that war between first-class powers has now become impossible, unless they are willing knowingly to plunge headlong into ruin. He argued with an unsurpassed wealth of illustration that with modern long-range and rapid-fire guns armies cannot face each other in battle array without mutual annihilation, that the defensive power of entrenched forces has become so great as to render the capture of forts practically impossible, and thus that wars between equals can no longer be fought to a finish.

His other great argument was that the cost of mobilizing and maintaining armies in campaign has become so great as to make bankruptcy absolutely certain, if war should, under the changed methods of fighting now rendered necessary, continue very long. He held that the war in South Africa, though only one of the contestants is a great power, has shown his reasoning to be entirely correct, both as to the increase of defensive power through modern weapons and as to the enormous expensiveness of maintaining armies in the field.

Thus he attempted to show, not that war is inhuman and morally loathsome, which he could doubtless have done with the greatest effectiveness, but that it has become supreme folly, and that nations

plunging into it under present conditions would be downright fools. Arbitration, an international court, he thus came to demand as the only rational course open, and he believed that as soon as men should see the force of his technical and economic reasoning, they would all turn naturally to this sensible method of adjusting disputes, that war would, as a matter of course, disappear, and with its disappearance would come disarmament.

It was this view presented in his work that so deeply impressed the Czar in 1897, as it has impressed many of the leading minds of Europe. The Conference at The Hague would, doubtless, have been called anyway, as Nicholas II. had already been studying the subject from the time of his father's death from many points of view. Mr. Bloch's massive logic quickened his pace and decided him to immediate action.

It is hardly correct to call Mr. Bloch's view his own, or to say that it was original with him. It is a view which has been forcing itself for years upon thoughtful minds in all civilized countries, and which before long will compel the assent of everybody. Mr. Bloch's great merit lay in the large and masterful way in which he interpreted to our time its own growing consciousness of the absurd and ruinous situation into which it has been brought by its enslavement to the old barbarous institution of war.

## Nations as Gentlemen.

The Von Holleben-Pauncefote incident at the President's reception on New Year's day suggests anew the inquiry whether nations, through their chief officials and diplomatic representatives, may ever be expected to conduct themselves in matters of international etiquette as considerate and well-bred gentlemen do in private life. It has generally been held that they cannot be expected to do so, that it is impossible for nations in their mutual relations to follow any other law than that of egotism, pure and simple, with all that this implies of self-preference, truculence and stickling for place.

Certain it is that the law of egotism has been the rule in the past. What has been called "precedence" is only a peculiar artificial form of selfishness, so fixed up that everybody in gold lace and stars except the last fellow in the line is ahead of somebody else. And the last man has been happy to be last only because he has seen in imagination at some time in the future a line of less important envoys following meekly behind him. This whole matter of diplomatic precedence will some day be looked upon as quite as ridiculous a thing as knight-errantry now is when seen through the pages of Cervantes.

It is difficult even now to keep a straight face when one thinks of the tyrannical hold which it has maintained in the past. When William Penn, a little over two hundred years ago, drew up his scheme for the peace of Europe, he had, in order to be "practical," to get over in some way the difficulty offered by this law of precedence. He provided that his diet or parliament should meet about a round table in a round house, with doors all about, that there might be no top or bottom of the room, no head or foot of the table, and all this that nobody might "precede" anybody else. But he innocently forgot that this part of the scheme was more unpractical, more ahead of the time, than any other part of it. The big diplomats, if the plan had been tried, would never have consented to allow the little ones thus to be made equal to themselves by the simple device of a round table in a round room.

Why should not the whole custom of "precedence" be thrown overboard to-day at Washington? Why should it be necessary for the oldest in service — or is it the oldest in years? — of the diplomatic corps to shake hands first with the President, in order to prevent the whole array of them from shaking their fists at each other? One of the doctrines of modern international politics is that sovereign, independent nations are equal in diplomatic rights and privileges. If the heads of legation — forty in number, more or less — are equal, why should they not all be satisfied to enter the room and shake hands with the President in any order that might chance to come about, as the same number of equal gentlemen would do in private life? Why should it not be honorable for an ambassador, and creditable to his country, for him to step back and say, "After you, sir," as a Christian gentleman would do?

Ambassador von Holleben's courtesy to Ambassador Pauncefote has raised him in the estimation of all cultivated Americans. It has at the same time increased the honor of his country much more, be it said by the way, than Chancellor von Bülow's quarreling with Mr. Chamberlain over the wires of the Associated Press. Lord Pauncefote, if he had been present at the reception, would, "according to the law," have shaken hands first with the President. But he was suffering at home with the gout, not a very comforting thing even under ordinary circumstances. The German ambassador, therefore, "according to the law," had the right to the first grasp of the President's hand. He decided to waive this right, and to treat the British ambassador as if he were present, by arranging for Lady Pauncefote to precede him in greeting Mr. Roosevelt.

It was a most thoughtful and gentleman-like thing for the German ambassador to do. We hope that his Excellency, Lord Pauncefote, one of the most unselfish diplomats in the whole field, may take the first suitable opportunity to return the courtesy. Let him, when he and the German ambassador are approaching the President at the head of the shining line of plenipotentiaries, step aside and say to Baron

von Holleben, "After you, Excellency." This would probably be the beginning of the breaking up of the whole absurd custom of diplomatic precedence inherited from the days when many nations were under suzerainty, and not equal as sovereign and independent states.

## Editorial Notes.

**Returning the Silver.**

On January 17 President Roosevelt took the first step in restoring to China the property belonging to her which was seized by the United States troops. He instructed Secretary Long to hand over to the State Department, for transmission to Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese ambassador, the sum of $376,000, which represents the value of the silver bullion seized at Tientsin by the United States marines. This bullion, which was found by the marines immediately after the capture of the city, was appraised by a board of officers and sold, and the proceeds were transmitted to Washington and deposited in the Treasury by Secretary Long. The Chinese ambassador at Washington, who had recently made representations to our government for the return of the value of the silver, is highly gratified that the government has decided to restore it. Every American citizen also ought to be gratified at this act of simple justice. Whatever may have been the original intentions of the persons who seized the silver bullion, to have kept this money in the National Treasury would have been on the part of the government nothing less than open intentional robbery. The restoration of property seized during a military campaign is something entirely different from what was accustomed to take place only a few decades ago. It is a striking evidence of the development of the public conscience. A little further evolution in the same direction will make such seizures of property impossible on either land or sea; and a still further evolution in the direction of right will stop the campaigns themselves.

**Holland's Move for Peace.**

The Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs has addressed to the British government a note proffering good offices toward ending the South African war. This is reported to have been done at the personal instigation of Queen Wilhelmina, who, with her people, is deeply distressed at the prolongation of the war. It appears that this move of the Dutch government represents Holland alone, though it is said to have the sympathy of other European governments. It has not the official endorsement of the two republics nor of their representatives in Europe. The Dutch note asks for the privilege of sending a commission to South Africa to confer with the Boer leaders and apprize them of the real state of affairs in regard to intervention, etc. The British government, so far as we can gather from the dispatches, is unwilling to accept the Netherlands proposal as a basis of negotiation because it does not officially represent either the Boer leaders in South Africa nor their representatives in Europe. It is reported to be willing, however, for the Netherlands government to send the proposed commission to South Africa under certain stipulations. It does not seem likely at the moment that anything tangible in the way of peace negotiations will come of this effort. Neither the British government nor the Boers seems ready to yield anything, and so long as they remain thus disposed the war must go on with all its ravages and barbarities. We are glad, however, that the Netherlands offer has been made. It may lead to something else more promising.

**Should Order an Investigation.**

Senator Hoar's resolution for an inquiry by a special commission into the condition of affairs in the Philippines ought to have met with the full and cordial approval of every citizen in the nation. A condition of affairs has existed out there, and continues to exist, as accumulating evidence discloses, which is a lasting disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. Our country professes to carry on war in what is called a "civilized" way. It is not doing it in the Philippines, as everybody now knows. The reconcentrado method of conquest, over which this country wrote its angry condemnation in blood in the case of Cuba, has been introduced, and is being extended, wherever the Filipino insurgents continue any decided opposition to having their country fall under the dominion of a foreigner who has so far shown them little cause to do anything but bitterly hate him. As we are writing this, the cable says that this system is at once to be put in force by General Bell in Batangas province, just south of Manila, that a certain zone is to be established around the garrisons into which the friendly inhabitants will be forced to come, under penalty of confiscation and destruction of their property. The insurgents, if they continue to try to maintain their cause by the only methods of which under the circumstances they are capable, are to be treated as outlaws and outside of the pale of "civilized warfare!" Senator Hoar ought to press his resolution with all possible speed. Nor ought it to have been turned over to Senator Lodge's Philippine committee, where it will most probably be smothered to death. There is no evidence, so far as we know, that this committee has done anything whatever to keep this country informed of the true state of things in the island or to check the shameful proceedings — "water cure," reconcentration, burning of villages — that have gone on there. To such cruel and shameful extremes is a country driven in its attempts to subdue a people whose

love of their own land and its independence makes them decline to be subdued. The whole government policy of annexation and subjugation has proved itself a costly and miserable failure. The islands are to-day fuller of hate and bitterness towards us than ever before, as al the later news shows, and these new efforts at terrorizing will probably drive out the last remaining vestige of respect for us. Unless we return to the right course, — what was right in the beginning, is now, and evermore shall be, — there is nothing to be expected but sullen and deceitful enmity towards us which will require us to maintain on the islands a big army, with all that this involves, for no one knows how long in the future. An immediate return to the right would produce an immediate change in the disposition of the Filipinos towards us. Nothing else ever will, as the nation will find out to its sorrow and shame as the years go on.

**The Powers and China.**

On the 22d of January, for the first time in the intercourse of China with the outside world, the ministers of the foreign powers were received by the Chinese Emperor, who has returned to Peking, as representatives of sovereigns equal in rank with him. The audiences given the ministers were held in the innermost large hall of the Forbidden City. The replies to the addresses of the ministers, copies of which were handed to the Emperor, were delivered by Prince Ching, the Emperor himself, seated on a dais behind the table, remaining silent and looking weak and impassive, as reported by the legation secretaries. Sir Ernest Satow, the British representative, made the following address:

"My august sovereign has charged me to express to your majesty his sincere desire to see the independence and the integrity of the Chinese Empire maintained intact, and that the prosperity and happiness of the Chinese people may be hastened by the removal of obstacles to the free exchange of commodities, by the extension of manufactures and by the utilization of the resources of the soil.

"The wonderful improvements in the means of communication between different parts of the world, through the development of steam navigation, railways and telegraphs, has brought all countries into much closer relations than was possible in former times. Thus the nations of the world are enabled to profit by the lessons to be learned from each other in the art of government, in methods of education, in the administration of justice and the application of the public wealth to the advantage of the whole people.

"If, under the enlightened rule of your majesty, the barriers which in the past hindered the free and mutually advantageous intercourse of China with the rest of the world be completely removed and her domestic institutions wisely regulated, it is certain that China, advancing along the path of progress, will attain to a height of prosperity unknown in the past."

This event, significant as it is, would have been much more satisfactory and encouraging for the future if there was not the record of so much iniquity, aggression and desolation behind it.

**Spurgeon on Conquest.**

At a time years ago when the British government was engaged in an attempt, long contemplated and carefully planned, to seize and annex territory in the north of India, the late Mr. Spurgeon wrote home the following message from Mentone:

"The grand blasts from Mr. Gladstone's war-horn should arouse our nation. The one note is a call to make righteousness and peace guides of the nation instead of selfishness and blustering. Will men hear the call? Alas! it is to be feared that self and pride have greater claims. 'British interests' are regarded as solid matters of consideration, while humanity and justice are treated as mere sentimental superfluities. The *Times*, which is ever the faithful mirror of the national mind, says about Afghanistan, which we have been so wantonly trampling under foot, 'Whatever is done must be done with the sole view to the future safety of India.' No notion of what is best for Afghans ought to come in the way. That is their business and not ours. It is our business to destroy all settled government in their country, and, after ravaging the land, to leave poor wretches to make such arrangements as they can. Under such tutors we shall soon become a nation of demons. Time was when high principle ruled British hearts, and all parties in the state paid homage to liberty, to justice and even humanity; but now we are another people, ruled by other lords. Can there be too much speaking against this? Ought Christians to be too excited and too eager to save their country from the evil which now sits dominant upon it? We think not. He who shall be backward when the time comes to deliver his land, let this great sin cleave unto him. If he will not rise to rescue his people from huge crimes into which her present rulers are plunging her, he will be partaker in their sins, and on his own head must the curse descend."

**Uncivilized Crimes.**

In a letter to the Messrs. Collier, of *Collier's Weekly*, which was read at a banquet given the staff of the paper on January 27th, Andrew Carnegie wrote as follows:

"The killing of men by men under the name of war is the foulest blot upon humanity to-day. We see much discussion as to what is or what is not permissible under civilized warfare. My view is that this is a contradiction of terms. There can be no such thing as civilized warfare. We have made little progress in the path of genuine civilization as long as we can find no better substitute for the settling of international disputes than the brutal murder of one another. As a general proposition, it may be stated that the nation which refuses peaceful arbitration is responsible for the war which ensues. Britain, having done this in its dispute with the Transvaal Republic, is responsible for the extermination of a brave and

heroic Christian people. But let us also remember that we are to-day engaged in shooting down Christian Filipinos whose only crime is that they believe in the Declaration of Independence. Sad that both branches of the so-called most highly civilized race should be guilty of the most uncivilized crimes! Let us all pray that this disgrace may soon pass away."

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**Egyptian-Hittite Treaty of Peace.**

"On a wall of the great Temple of Karnak, in Egypt," writes Josiah W. Leeds, "there is an elaborately sculptured record of the campaign of Rameses II., against the Kheta (the Hittites), including the Treaty of Peace which was framed after the two armies had probably about reached the point of exhaustion, for the war had been waged as far northward in Syria as the Orontes. The last clause of this remarkable document in stone, while stipulating that the contracting parties shall deliver up to each other the political fugitives of both countries, provides at the same time for the personal safety of the offenders. 'Whosoever shall be so delivered up,' says the treaty, 'himself, his wives, his children, let him not be smitten to death; moreover, let him not suffer in his eyes, in his mouth, in his feet; moreover, let not any crime be set up against him.' Now, this second Rameses was a wonderful temple builder, and it cannot be doubted that his numerous self-laudatory monuments called for great hardships and loss of life in their construction. Yet this treaty of thirty-three hundred years ago, on the part of a ruler whose religious cult was polytheistic, and included the veneration of scarabs, hawks, and crocodiles, remains, as Amelia B. Edwards says of it, 'a remarkable illustration of the clemency with which international law was at that time administered.' At any rate, the North African despot's way of ending a pitiful war seems not to suffer alongside of what we behold to-day in South Africa and in the subject isles of the Filipinos."

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**A Teacher of Peace.**

The celebrated Russian artist, Vassili Verestchagin, whose war pictures are now so famous throughout the world, is in this country, and has been superintending an exhibition of his paintings in Chicago. Realistic battle scenes and the tragic character of war furnish the themes of his most celebrated pictures. Through these he has done much to create a disgust for war, for he paints it in its naked reality, throwing over it none of the glamour with which it is so often clothed. Von Moltke at one time forbade his troops to go to see Verestchagin's vivid delineations of the horrors of war, and none of the military governments of Europe have cared to have these dread-inspiring canvases before the eyes of their people. Verestchagin's great collection, which fills five galleries of the Chicago Art Institute, has recently been increased by the painting of eleven large pictures of the war in the Philippines. In an article in the February magazine number of the *Outlook*, Charles DeKay, of the National Art Club, thus writes about Verestchagin:

"Painters may hold that, so far as they are concerned, there is no room for works like those of Verestchagin; but the public thinks otherwise. The public has a robust enjoyment of things in art which are analogous with the mystery plays of the Middle Ages and the pictures in stained glass and mosaic in the old churches, whose purpose was to instruct and better the observer by showing him the good works of saints and the evil works of pagan persecutors of the elect. The war correspondent is sometimes consciously, sometimes unwittingly, a man who draws a moral from scenes of slaughter or presents the shocking side of war so realistically that the reader is won, at least for a time, to the side of peace. A conspicuous example of this was the book published some years ago by M. de Bloch, lately deceased, which, on good authority, is said to have stimulated the young Czar to efforts that resulted in the Peace Conference at The Hague. So does the illustrator for the press who accompanies the war correspondent have it in his power to do what he can to disgust the public with war by showing its horrible side. Vassili Verestchagin is such a war reporter, only he uses big canvases and oil paints, and employs his talents in the path well beaten through literature by Count Tolstoy, his predecessors and successors in Russia and Germany and France."

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**The Sleeping National Conscience.**

Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Durham, one of the clearest-sighted and most courageous Christian ministers in England, in "A Warm Greeting for the New Year" to the peace journal *War or Brotherhood*, writes as follows of the madness with which he feels that his country is smitten:

"May we see with kindled eyes the dawn of a Spirit of Peace in the coming spring, and the awakening of the sleeping national conscience. I am perpetually haunted with the mediæval aphorism, 'Whom God wishes to destroy he first makes mad.' Surely we are passing through an access of insanity, of national bewilderment, in which neither the true nature of our acts is discerned nor the proportion of things maintained. In a word, Are we not mad? When before has society had such a fear of truth? When was there such a conspiracy of darkness in this country? And with it, how amazing a display of arrogant ignorance, and a contempt for the geographical and historical truths which would have warned us! When has the land been under such a seed-casting of falsehood and slander? When so lamentable a deadness of conscience? When such a worship of low aims, and cringing to money and greed for dividends from so-called industries of war? Where in history can we find a parallel to the gloating over bloodshed and the ungenerous delight in this piteous war on women and babes? How is it that we refuse to understand the inglorious and vulgar qualities of a war waged by the strong against the weak, by the millions against the hundreds? Why cannot we see that it is idiocy to slander and rake up rumors

about the meanness of our adversary? From another side: When in our history has there been such a craving for excitement, and such intoxication of mind over some trivial success? When in our history can we find such meanness as that of a Mafeking day? And are we really the tools of gambling foreigners? And are we making war, dazzled by glint of gold, and indifferent to all thoughts of justice? Above all, is it patriotic to make no protest against the angry attacks on freedom, personal and constitutional, which have forever smirched the fair name of England? Are we really content, for such reward, to throw away the liberties which have been hardly won by our ancestors in a thousand years of glorious struggle for freedom? For these appalling reasons we seem quite content to take the first step towards ruin; and, like a mad bull, close our eyes, see nothing, and rush on head down to what we know not, senseless and doomed."

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**Baron d'Estournelles to Lord Rosebery.**

Baron d'Estournelles, one of the French members of the Hague Court, had published in the *Matin* a remarkable open letter to Lord Rosebery in reference to his Chesterfield speech, from which we take some passages:

"The drama which drags itself out eternally in South Africa has but two peoples for actors; but it has for witness the whole civilized world. Now there exists at present — you yourself have said so, eloquently — a tribunal of the world. If you recognize that a conscience common to all men begins to awaken, will you refuse it the right of making itself heard?

"You are surprised that Europe deplores the Transvaal War. Instead of seeing in the grievous pity that moves it a valuable sign, you only find there a mark of hostility against your country, a sign of the hatred of Europe, and therefore one motive more for England remaining obstinately deaf to every foreign voice.

"Allow me to express regret at this confusion. No, it is not England, it is the war that Europe detests, and it is not your enemies, be sure,— it is, on the contrary, your friends,— who suffer when they see England engaged in a struggle of which extermination and ruin are the only issues.

"Consider the painful embarrassment, the distress of those who were your friends in Europe, and be good enough for a moment to put yourself impartially in their place. I am one of them, you know. I have proved it. No one has desired more than I have to see your country and mine dissipate the misunderstandings which divide them, and every time that the mistake, even in the question of Egypt, appeared to me to be on our side, I have said so publicly without fearing to compromise myself.

"You are not detested, you are judged; and it is above all your friends, who are the furthest removed from hate, that suffer most from the disavowals that you inflict upon the confidence they have shown you. They suffer not in their pride, but in what is most praiseworthy in them, their concern for justice, liberty, progress; they suffer when they see violence triumph to-day in the country which yesterday made itself glorious by scorning violence; they suffer, in a word, when they see the eclipse of the liberal spirit occur just where they believed it to be best protected against every assault.

"The acts of a great country like England have their echo throughout the world. A whole school of politicians that your example and your generous traditions were able to restrain in their pursuit of a most maleficent popularity are now everywhere turning back to favor their thesis, and openly letting loose base appetites against every part of the globe for the accomplishment of the basest conquests. What will you reply to them?

"This is what your friends say. Do you mistake for hatred their sadness and disquietude? Will you not allow yourself the right of deploring your own errors as you do theirs when these errors interest mankind. Will you oblige them to renounce the admirations and hopes of their whole lifetime, to recognize that their dreams were chimeras, and that civilization has brought the nations nearer only to precipitate them blindly one against another?

"No, Lord Rosebery! Allow a Frenchman the right of saying to you, without hatred and without fear,— without fear of being treated as an Anglophobe in London, or an Anglomaniac in Paris,— that Europe is without prejudice, but that she calls with her whole soul for the end of a war which horrifies her."

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**Naval Rhetoric.**

Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, whose chief claim to recognition by his countrymen was the daring but perfectly useless feat of sinking the "Merrimac" in the mouth of Santiago Harbor, has been treating citizens of Boston and other places to some rather extraordinary naval rhetoric. Nobody denies that, as navies go, the United States navy has made a record of extraordinary success, but to say that "if there is a scroll of honor under the sun, it is the scroll of the navy" of the United States, is a bit too emotional even for a naval officer. If the business of smashing ships, blowing in pieces fortifications, and crushing, burning and sinking men to death, when carried on with success, can then entitle persons to the highest imaginable honor in the affairs of this world, then Captain Hobson's statement might have some claim to pass unchallenged. But there are deeds of philanthropy and beneficence, far-reaching in their transforming effects, which have been done in many countries and at many times in the interest of humanity, that rank as much above any naval exploits recorded as light is above darkness. Captain Hobson's audience is said to have broken forth in a storm of long-continued applause at the mention, on the honor roll, of the names of Dewey, Sampson and Schley, who have recently done little but quarrel over "glory." Have these stormers and Captain Hobson ever really considered how nearly the naval battles of Manila and Santiago resembled little more than mere target practice? Captain Hobson thinks that the presence of our fleet off China was the only thing that saved the partition of the empire, and that "a great and powerful American fleet" is the only thing that

will prevent such partition in the future and the consequent setting of the world on fire. Older heads than his think that John Hay, and Great Britain, and the mutual jealousies of the powers had something to do with preventing partition. It is a pity to spoil the young hero's rhetoric by asking what prevented the partition of China all the years before we had our present navy. What Captain Hobson means by sending the Monroe Doctrine far and wide, even to "the golden wall of China," is not quite clear. He wants it over there, evidently, that the navy may have the "honor" of defending it, as if it were not sufficient "glory" to do that over here. Captain Hobson dreams of a great Slav wave of conquest over Central and Western Europe, and asks how *we* could prevent this except by a great navy! He does not tell us how we could manipulate a great navy on the *soil* of Western Europe against a Slav wave that was big enough to engulf all Germany, England and the rest of the Western nations, combined armies, fleets and all. At the close of his Boston lecture Captain Hobson made a plea for twenty-five, nay fifty, nay a hundred millions a year of appropriations for the *increase* of the navy. One of the ladies on the platform at the close of the speech suggested that the only way to get these appropriations was to send Hobson to Congress. We should say that is the best possible way to prevent any appropriations at all, for no bill in Congress could possibly live in such a sea of rhetoric as filled Lorimer Hall during the speech to which we are referring.

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**Church Review on Modern War.**

The editor of the Hartford *Church Review*, in a finely conceived editorial in the January number of his paper, says that "with our traditions, our love of country, our patriotism, too, which is sometimes so strangely warped, it is hard to take an absolutely unprejudiced view of what we know as modern warfare!" He then asks: "Is there, however, anything under the sun so astounding and awful as the method by which the nations of the earth settle their disputes in this nineteen hundred and second year of our Lord Jesus Christ?" The interrogation goes straight to the centre of the matter except in one particular. Instead of "settle their disputes" he might more appropriately have written "keep up and aggravate and create disputes." The governments of the great nations can scarcely be said any longer even to attempt to settle their controversies by war. They talk about it, worry about it, fear it, make infinite preparations for it, but they no longer fight except against puny nations, from which there is nothing to fear. They settle their real differences with one another by negotiation or arbitration, or let them go unsettled, as in the case of the Alaska boundary dispute, and then fool their citizens into support of their monstrous war preparations by concocting imaginary differences and by the loud pretense that war is forever just ready to fall upon them from some quarter or other. This, however, only adds to the astounding character of the facts, as they would be recorded in his book entitled "My Impressions of the Earth," by the *Review's* supposed visitor, fresh from the planet Mars. It is difficult sometimes to accept the theory that it is traditions and the prejudices of education which make it hard to take an impartial view of modern warfare. It would seem that any person with only a modicum of intelligence and of moral freedom ought to see and realize the amazing folly and iniquity of it, in spite of the traditions and prejudices among which he has grown up.

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**Reminiscence of Sumner.**

Hon. L. H. Pillsbury of West Derry, N. H., sends us the following interesting information:

"A little after the War of the Rebellion, in which I participated as a captain of infantry, I removed to Kansas; and while engaged in pastoral pursuits, I found time to reflect, and became convinced of the supreme unreasonableness of war, its expensiveness and its wickedness. I sat down and wrote to the Hon. Charles Sumner, then a United States Senator, asking him if there were no concerted movement or organization to work out its abolishment. He was kind enough to notice and promptly answer a young herdsman of the plains, in the following language, as nearly as I can remember: 'I know of no society in the United States whose object is the suppression of this form of barbarism except the American Peace Society of Boston, Mass. I had expected to make it my life work to oppose war, but I found myself confronted with slavery; and slavery is war, except that in this case the weaker party is beaten in detail.' He gave me the address of the American Peace Society, and I immediately secured a membership in it, and have remained a member ever since, now nearly forty years. I think I see in the pronounced and intelligent opposition to the war in South Africa and that in the Philippines, in the Hague and the Pan-American Congresses, an advance in public sentiment against this hoary and gory 'bulwark of hatred and of hell' that would have rejoiced the heart of this noble martyr to liberty and peace."

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**A French Non-Resistant.**

The following case of a young French Christian, who refused to do military service because he had become convinced that war is wholly wrong and unchristian, might be paralleled from nearly every country in Europe, not only among Christians, but among simple humanitarians. Increasing numbers of young men in these countries are refusing, for conscience' sake, to train themselves in the art of human slaughter, and their example would have a much more powerful effect if the cases were not

kept so out of sight by the officials. The London *Daily News* is responsible for this account:

"The French Minister of War has just sent home a soldier named Gontaudier, whose story is not commonplace. Gontaudier emigrated to the United States as a lad, and joined the Quakers. When his time came to serve in the French army, he returned to France and, before the military authorities, stated that his religious principles forbade him carrying a rifle. He was court-martialed and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Having served his sentence out, he was sent back to the regiment. There he stated that his religious views had not altered, and he was again sentenced to two years.

"Probably this second penalty for one offense was illegal, but legality, as everybody knows, is held by courts-martial as a thing to be honored rather in the breach than otherwise. He had served the greater part of this second sentence when attention was called to his case by the *Aurore*. General André, Minister of War, at once decided that he should be sent to serve his three years in the ambulance corps. It now turns out that Gontaudier, being the only son of an aged mother, was liable to one year's service only, and ought to have been sent away long ago. The Minister of War has just recognized this."

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**Peace Bureau.**

The International Peace Bureau at Berne has sent the following letter to the presidents of Chile and the Argentine Republic, in view of the amicable adjustment of their boundary dispute:

"*Mr. President:* In the name of the Permanent International Peace Bureau, established at Berne in 1891 by the societies devoted to the peace movement throughout the world, we take the liberty of expressing to you how much we appreciate the conciliatory attitude of the Chilean and Argentinian governments on the occasion of the controversy which has threatened to bring desolation and sorrow among peoples of South America. We do not undertake to pass judgment on the causes of the dispute, but we have the firm hope that you will persevere in your efforts to hold in check the dangerous excitements and evil passions which tend to war. The line of moderate and prudent conduct which you have so far followed in order to prevent an appeal to arms assures to you the esteem of the civilized world, in whose view a war between the two nations would be an event disastrous to the cause of progress and of justice, as well as to the material interests of the populations, the two essential elements of which are labor and peace."

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**Eleventh Peace Congress.**

The International Peace Congresses have usually been held late in the season. This year, it seems, it is to be otherwise. The International Peace Bureau at Berne, after consulting the peace societies, has, by a vote of thirteen to nine of its Commission, decided to hold the Congress this year at Monaco the first week in April. There were invitations from only two places, Toulouse and Monaco. Toulouse finally withdrew its invitation. The Prince of Monaco, who is greatly interested in the peace movement, and much desired to have the Congress meet in his principality this season, could not receive it in the autumn. So April has been decided upon, as two other congresses are to meet there that month. If any of the members of the American Peace Society expect to be in Europe at that time, and will be willing to represent the Society, we shall be glad if they will inform us at once. The time is short, as the meeting of the Congress is only two months off.

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**Alaskan Dispute.**

In a recent letter to the *Nation*, Mr. Thomas Willing Balch of the Philadelphia Bar claims that there is nothing in the Alaska boundary dispute to arbitrate. After discussing the meaning of the treaty between Russia and England in 1825, on which the claims of our government rest, he says that "the evidence in the case is all in favor of the United States." "There is no more reason for this country to agree to refer its right to the possession and sovereignty of this unbroken Alaskan *lisière* to the decision of foreigners than would be the case if the English empire advanced a demand to sovereignty over the coast of the Carolinas or the port of Baltimore, and suggested that the claim should be referred to the judgment of the subjects of third powers." This seems to us a most extreme position to take. We have no more doubt than Mr. Balch that the evidence is all in favor of the United States. But British and Canadian statesmen and publicists do not think so, unless we are to set down a number of the most eminent of them as downright liars and deceivers. This we hardly feel justified in doing. Again, to be unwilling to let such a case go to arbitration, for fear of a decision against us, is to greatly underrate the intelligence and conscientiousness of any three or five public men from foreign nations to whom the case might be referred. If the evidence is all in our favor, it is impossible that such a body of men could find it to be against us. Mr. Balch's comparison of the Alaska case to the supposed one of the Carolina coast or the port of Baltimore is most irrelevant; for in the one case there is a *border line* between the two countries, in the other supposed one none at all.

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**King's Speech from the Throne.**

When the British Parliament was opened, on the 16th of January, King Edward read his own speech, written for him of course by the ministry, from the throne. He declared that his relations with other powers continued to be of a *friendly* character, though he did not explain exactly what he meant by "friendly." It was probably this sentence which led Lord Rosebery to call the speech one of the most "jejune"

ever placed on the lips of a monarch. The King must have known while pronouncing the word that there never was less foreign friendship for England than now, and justly so, because never before in her history has she more deeply offended the Christian conscience of the world. A still more "hungry" part of the speech was the passage in which the King declared that the humanity, even to their own detriment, of his troops in South Africa in their treatment of the enemy was deserving of the highest praise. Over this "lean" utterance peers, peeresses and high officials broke out into loud and long-continued applause, which broke all the dignified traditions of the House of Lords. The King hoped that the international conference on sugar bounties might lead to the abandonment of a system which unfairly weighted his sugar-producing colonies. He referred to the conclusion of the Canal treaty with this country, under guaranties that its neutrality would be maintained and that it would be open to the commerce of all nations. He also mentioned the conclusion of the treaty with Brazil for the arbitration of the Guiana-Brazil boundary question. He regretted that the war in South Africa was not yet concluded, but declared that the area of it had been *largely reduced*, and that industries were being resumed in "his new colonies." Whatever one may think of Lord Rosebery's epithet "jejune," the King's speech is certainly much more remarkable for the serious things which it ignores than for those which it mentions, important as some of these are.

**Pan-American Congress Closes**

The Pan-American Congress closed on the 31st ult. The families of the delegates were present by invitation at the final session. After its close the delegates were received by President Diaz, who congratulated them on the eminently practical results of their labors. He expressed the hope that each one of them on returning home would be a messenger of peace and of confraternity among the American republics. In his address closing the Conference, Señor Ignacio Mariscal, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke in part as follows, as to the advance made of the principle of arbitration, the most commanding subject before the Conference:

"You have advanced in practice the great principle of arbitration, the peaceful and the educational solution of international controversies, so as to render less frequent the barbarous appeal to force. Ten delegations have reached an agreement and signed a treaty of compulsory arbitration with exceptions similar to those that figured in the Washington treaty, which miscarried in 1890, a fate which we may reasonably hope is not reserved for the present convention. Nevertheless, it is not the principal triumph obtained in the matter of arbitration. That triumph is undoubtedly the unanimous agreement of all of the delegations, in spite of their apparently radical divergence as to the application of that great principle, to submit for settlement to the permanent arbitration court of The Hague controversies that arise among the governments of America due to the claims of private individuals for indemnities and damages. When the convention in question once comes into force, these complaints and claims which most inflame the minds of men and embitter international relations will be settled peacefully in the manner dictated by equity and the highest considerations of expediency. Finally, you have unanimously agreed to recognize the principles proclaimed by the Hague peace convention, and are prepared to become parties to the conventions concluded by the conference. And in order to secure admittance to one of them you have empowered the governments of the United States and Mexico, who are among the signatory powers, to conduct the negotiations which such admittance entails; by this means all our sister nations of America will secure, among other advantages, a clear right to appeal to the eminent court established at the capital of the Netherlands, whenever they may desire that it should adjudicate their controversies."

**Not Useless to Protest.**

*The Watchman* in a recent number, speaking of the influentially signed remonstrance against the proposed vast increase in naval expenditures recently sent from Boston to Washington, says:

"The strongly worded protest so influentially signed against the huge naval appropriations seems to us to overlook the fact that these expenditures were involved in the policy adopted by our government in negotiating the treaty of Paris with Spain. These vast appropriations cannot be withstood after the policy that makes them necessary has been adopted. The time for effective protest was more than three years ago."

It seems to us that this position of the *Watchman*, whose editor is opposed to the policy adopted in the treaty of Paris, is untenable from every point of view. First, we do not see the evidence that the new program of naval increase is involved in the policy adopted in the Paris treaty. Some increase in the navy is doubtless involved in that policy, but nothing like that proposed. It is nearer the truth to say that the policy adopted at Paris has grown out of naval development and exploits rather than *vice versa*. The naval increase has been steadily going on since 1885, and has only been quickened by recent events. But if these increased expenditures, or, in other words, a large expansion of the navy, were involved in the policy, is that a sufficient reason for withholding protest? Shall a great national sin be allowed to go unprotested after the initial stage until it reaches

its culmination? Can we not often, by exposing the dangerousness of the first fruits of such a policy, thus best secure the ultimate abandonment of the policy itself? Was it useless to protest against the greed of the slave power for new territory because such greed was involved in the nationally accepted system of slavery? *The Watchman* would hardly so contend. The policy adopted in the treaty of Paris with Spain is producing so many evil fruits that we should be a nation of hopeless weaklings if we held our mouths about them. It is the continued protest of so many people throughout the nation against these evil fruits that is bringing the country to its senses about the wickedness of the policy itself. This policy, from many present indications, at least in its worst features, is fast losing its hold on the nation and is certain before long to be abandoned. The people who originated this naval remonstrance were among the strongest of the original protestants three years ago, and it is a most favorable omen that many others, who at first did not protest, are willing to join them now.

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**Weight of our Military Burdens.**

Commenting on the article in *Scribner's Monthly* for January, by Mr. Vanderlip, on "The American Commercial Invasion of Europe," the *New York Evening Post* says:

"Perhaps the most pungent and timely part of Mr. Vanderlip's article is that in which he frankly reminds us of the way in which our sudden rush into swollen military expenditure is imperilling our industrial supremacy. He gives some striking utterances of foreign statesmen and financiers on this subject. The Russian Minister of Finance, M. De Witte, said that 'militarism is the nightmare and the ruin of every European finance minister,' and thought the fact that the United States had 'no great military burden' to be no small part of her good fortune. But our foreign rivals are watching with ill-concealed glee our fatuous course in going out of our way to bind such a burden on our backs. One of 'the most eminent of European financiers' said to Mr. Vanderlip, when asked how the Old World could possibly withstand American competition: 'Something will happen. . . . It may be that it is your *colonial policy*. . . . *We are glad to see you going into the Philippines.* We will welcome the time if you are going to measure strength with us as a military power.'

"The actual weight of our military burden is understated by Mr. Vanderlip. Comparing the United States with Europe, he finds that we pay out for army and navy only $205,000,000 a year, as against $1,380,000,000 spent in Europe. But the only fair comparison is that of per capita taxation for military purposes. Mr. Vanderlip's 'Europe' means 336,000,000 of inhabitants, who thus have to pay $4.10 each for the support of army and navy. But the 76,000,000 of Americans are now paying (counting in, as Mr. Vanderlip should have done, the $140,000,000 a year in pensions) $4.50 a head for the same purposes. Already, therefore, we are gratuitously crippling ourselves with military expenses in a way to give our competitors hope, and our colonial and military ambitions are calling for more money every year. Was there ever such a clear case of national folly? At the height of our great opportunity, with the markets of the world at our mercy, we stupidly cling to a fiscal policy which turns the hand of every trading nation against us, and then proceed further to weight ourselves in the race for commercial supremacy, where we might so easily have a clear course, by committing the very blunder our anxious competitors were hoping we would fall into, — that is, we sap our strength and dissipate our energies by going in for costly colonies and a burdensome military establishment."

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## Brevities.

. . . During this year the navy will be increased by the completion of one battleship, three protected cruisers, four monitors, sixteen torpedo boats and sixteen torpedo-boat destroyers. There are under construction eight battleships, six armored cruisers, nine protected cruisers, one gunboat, four monitors, sixteen destroyers, nine torpedo boats, seven submarine boats; making a total of sixty vessels.

. . . *City and State*, of Philadelphia, has published in pamphlet the evidence which it declares to be "morally conclusive proof that the so-called 'water-cure' torture has, during a period of nearly two years, been systematically used in the Philippines, under the ægis of our flag, to produce political or military results." The pamphlet is excruciating reading to one who loves his country's honor.

. . . At the annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association, held at Albany on the 21st ult., Mr. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador, said: "The fundamental duty of diplomacy is to enforce respect for the provisions of international law and so foster their continuous development, thereby rendering essential service to the advancement of civilization and strengthening the social bond which links together the nations of the world."

. . . The British government has already expended more than sixty-two million dollars for horses alone in the South African war, the whole number of horses used to the end of October last being three hundred thousand nine hundred.

. . . Great Britain has decided to take the same course adopted by the United States and return to China that portion of the imposed indemnity which may not be required to cover actual expenses and damages.

. . . Hon. Henry B. Metcalf, in a recent letter to one of the Pawtucket (R. I.) papers, says that the thing which troubles him most about our Philippine proceedings is "whether our Christian nation is really trying to find an honorable method whereby slaughter of Americans as well as Filipinos may cease."

. . . In a recent address Mr. Bryan gives the following definition of patriotism: "I do not think I can define patriotism better than to say that it is that love of country which leads a man to give to his country that which his country needs at the time that his country needs it."

. . . Oscar S. Straus of New York, Minister to Turkey under both Presidents Cleveland and McKinley, has been appointed by President Roosevelt a member of the Hague International Court of Arbitration, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of ex-President Benjamin Harrison. Mr. Straus is a diplomat and publicist of very high standing. He considers the setting up of the Hague Court the most important event of the past century.

. . . In a most illuminating speech in the House of Representatives the other day, in criticism of the carelessness and log-rolling of pension legislation, Congressman Talbert of South Carolina showed that since the Civil War the government has paid out in pensions over two and a half billion dollars, and that at the present time there are about one million pensioners on the list, or one person to every seventy-five of the population. The pension bill of the United States is annually greater than the cost of the standing army of any European country except Russia.

. . . A Christmas letter from the women of Switzerland, having tens of thousands of signatures, was sent to the women of Great Britain, imploring them "to insist upon a speedy end being put to the unspeakable sufferings of the innocent Boer women and children and to the horrors and bloodshed of the war."

. . The treaty providing for the cession of the Danish West Indies to the United States for the sum of five million dollars was signed at Washington, January 24, by Secretary Hay and Danish Minister Brun. The Danish government has given notice that it will submit the question of cession to the inhabitants, who are not expected to offer much opposition, as under the treaty they may retain their Danish allegiance if they desire so to do.

. . . A petition has been presented to the Massachusetts Legislature for the establishment of an industrial arbitration court, signed by a number of influential persons, among them Professor F. Spencer Baldwin of Boston University, and E. H. Clement of the Boston *Transcript*. The form of court suggested by the petitioners is like that which has been for several years in operation in New Zealand.

. . . A Massachusetts petition has been presented to Congress through Senator Hoar, signed by more than ten thousand bankers and manufacturers, praying for the establishment by treaty of reciprocal trade relations between the United States and Canada.

. . . The Hon. Whitelaw Reid, as special commissioner, is to represent the United States government at the crowning of King Edward VII., and the Hon. J. M. L. Curry, who was our minister to Spain when Alfonso was born, is to represent our government at Madrid at the accession of the young King to the throne.

. . . On his forty-third birthday the Emperor of Germany conferred territorial titles on all his regiments which had previously had no distinctive names. In the course of his army order on the subject he said that "the army and the nation were one." He has an increasing number of subjects who think that the nation is something more than and different from the army.

. . . On the 12th of January the French Arbitration Society held a grand banquet at the *Palais d'Orsay*, Paris, in honor of its president, Frederic Passy, on his reception of the Nobel peace prize.

. . . At the *Collier's Weekly* banquet given to its staff on January 27, a letter was read from Cardinal Gibbons in which he said: "War must not be. Apart from all religious considerations, I pray for peace because of the commercial interests at stake which would suffer perceptibly in the event of war with European powers. Indeed, with commercial interests so strong, with ramifications so varied, the United States and all Europe will think twice before resorting to clash of arms, finding bills of lading more profitable than bills of war."

. . . During the year 1901 the Boer war cost Great Britain $305,350,000, and the expenses at the present time are given as $22,500,000 per month. There are 237,800 British troops still in South Africa.

. . . On January 19, Dr. Darby, secretary of the Peace Society, London, received the following cablegram from J. D. Casasus, Mexico City: "Yesterday the International American Conference sent to the secretary of foreign relations its unanimous adherence to the Hague Convention, and also a treaty of compulsory arbitration signed by the delegates of ten republics represented in the Conference, obligating themselves in cases of diplomatic privileges, rights of navigation, boundaries, validity of interpretation and enforcement of treaties. It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you upon this new triumph of peace among nations.

. . . Justin McCarthy, in an article in the New York *Independent* of January 9, thus writes: "There is at last a large party arising in Great Britain who are not afraid to proclaim that some terms of honorable peace must be sought for which the Boers can accept without the surrender of their national independence — at all events, without the surrender of their right to national self-government. The old catch-words about fighting to a finish, carrying on the war to the bitter end, and leaving to the Boers not a shred of independence, are seldom heard in England just now."

. . . The Protestant churches of France, in an address to the Protestant churches and the government of Great Britain, speak thus: "Without taking one side or the other, but impressed by the evils of the war and of the scandal which the prolongation of this conflict causes to Christian consciences, we, the undersigned, respectfully entreat the government of Great Britain to consent to overtures of peace, still hoping that the court of arbitration can be brought into service to bring an equitable accord between an heroic people, few in number, and a great nation which, in the midst of the world, has so often raised its voice in favor of liberty and justice."

. . . In an instructive address on Hugo Grotius and International Arbitration before the Holland Society of New York, on January 16, Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the Philadelphia Bar declared that as the Supreme Court of the United States has become the greatest tribunal in Christendom, so the Hague tribunal is destined to become the *greatest of courts* of the world.

. . . The Gillette-Lodge bill, which forbids any American to sell firearms, opium or intoxicating liquors to the natives of the Philippines and certain other islands in the Pacific, has passed the Senate and is now before the House, where it ought at once to be approved without a dissenting voice.

. . . Edwin D. Mead, on his recent return from half a year abroad, thus speaks in an interview in the *Springfield Republican*: "Nothing is more impressive to me, after months of absence, than the great change in public opinion on the Philippine question since last spring. . . . I think there is little doubt that a majority of Americans see clearly to-day that the McKinley policy was a terrible mistake."

## Correspondence.

B. FARRAR, of Arkansas City, Kansas, writes to the editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE as follows:

"Your first article in the January number, 'Work for the Coming Year,' is brimful of good thoughts, advice, suggestions, entreaties, etc. The first paragraph is right to the point to stimulate thought, zeal, and practical observance of the truths and excellent suggestions contained in all the other paragraphs.

"'One of the chief characteristics of our time is *burdened conscience* in regard to war,' you say. I thoroughly believe that remark, though I have seen to this date but little tangible evidence of the fact. The fire is burning, however, though it is still smothered.

"I am making the ADVOCATE do work here by circulating it among pastors and others, and I know that the mighty truths therein published cannot be very long crushed and ignored. Others are, doubtless, doing as well or better than I. Now, how can we do more and better work sowing the seed which the great and good Society is putting into our hands? We are the sowers. The field is the world. The great mass of the people believe in war, save here and there an isolated exception.

"This city in which I live, Arkansas City, Kansas, has a population of about seven thousand, with about three thousand outside of the city who get their mail at this office, making ten thousand in all. Of these I am the only subscriber to the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, so far as I know, and I know of but one person beside myself within our P. O. limits, namely, the local secretary of the Y. M. C. A., who is first, last and all the time opposed to war and in favor of peace. We have two orthodox preachers, one the pastor of the Congregational Church, the other, retired, a united Presbyterian, a D.D., and accounted a very able preacher. He was a chaplain during the Civil War, and boldly stands up for war, including the present one. The other pastors are mute regarding war."

After outlining a plan for the organization of peace meetings, for educational work along peace lines, Mr. Farrar further says:

"We find the motive power in the last paragraph of the editorial alluded to. I hope all will take special heed to that. I enclose a contribution of ———, to be used in any way you may see best to further the blessed cause of peace. Christianity, or Christian principles, seem to be almost absolutely ignored by, and moral and ethical principles at best wounded and bleeding at the hands of our Presidents and Congress, in the insane race for commercial and national supremacy and world-power."

MRS. R. J. LINDLEY of Avilla, Mo., writes:

"I must try and circulate your paper more than I have been doing for a while. I feel stirred by the reading of the first page of the last ADVOCATE to more diligence, and I will not forget as opportunity offers to send in substantial aid of a few dollars."

## Who Speaks?

BY ASENATH CARVER COOLIDGE.

Oh! who or what is he,
Christian or Taoist,
Who saith murdering wars must be?
Who dreams that evil let alone
Will furnish germs of good to coming men,
And drives the devil's outcast maxims home again,
Who knoweth not that wrong unrooted leads to fouler wrong,
So helps the blind to grope and reel and stumble on?

Who saith of monster war
'Tis just — 't is right,
Because the workless millions rise with fiery eyes
And rend with battle-songs the dreaming skies?
God pitieth their plight —
Oft cried aloud and would have hovered them,
E'en as He would the headstrong hosts of old Jerusalem;
He seeth the starving babes, the needless sacrifice.

Not Truth nor Sense
Will say war 's right,
Because there shineth, now and then,
Along the warring lines of sinning men,
God's light of recompense.
He seeth and saveth every grain of good
That lies ungarnered 'mong the festering brood;
He knoweth what the heart-starved warrior might have been.

Night answereth unto night,
Men's ignorance to men;
Oh soul, be strong, lest night be doubly dark, alway!
Oh speed the time for which the angels pray,
When, with dear Love's insight,
The dusky bride shall marshal starry throngs
And answer thus, unto the perfect Day,
"No more shall deeds of war or violence be done!"

## Gentle and Mighty.*

BY IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

The Child that in the manger lay, —
A babe, a lamb, yet strong to bless, —
Dwells in the contrite heart alway,
And proves the power of gentleness.

*Read at the American Friends' Peace Conference, Philadelphia, December 13, 1901.

"Joy to the world, the Lord has come!"
"Glory to God, to men goodwill!"
Now hush the bugle and the drum,
And bid the haughty strife be still.

What lips were loudest in the fray
Of wrathful words, what hands would smite
With fist or sword, be still to-day,
And learn the law of peace and right.

Such wisdom as from self proceeds,
The sapient lore of worldly lust,
Forget, with all those ruthless deeds
That, from the dust, return to dust.

Oh, not with boastful threat and blow
Doth man achieve his true estate,
But loving, trusting, toiling, so
God's gentleness doth make him great.

Ye leaders of the multitude,
With their up-reaching hands in yours,
Lead to the one eternal Good,
The Love that ransomed, heals, endures.

Yea, all ye stewards of the Lord
Make haste to do His perfect will;
Obey the voice: "Put up thy sword!"
Obey the voice: "Thou shalt not kill!"

And ye who stretch your limbs at ease,
Forgetful of a brother's claim, —
Down from your couches to your knees!
Thence rise to work in Jesus' name!

White is the harvest, large the yield;
Lift up your eyes and see the glow
Of fair wheat shining in God's field:
The call is sounding, rise and go.

## Chinese Exclusion.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

*From an address before the Henry George Club, Philadelphia, January 12.*

"Unsettled questions have no mercy for the peace of nations," said Garfield, and the wrong perpetrated upon one of the oldest and most wonderful races of history thrusts itself once more before the public tribunal for a fresh decision. If the old judgment is repeated, we bequeath the case to future days and men, with added difficulties which always accompany the postponement of the ethical solution.

To justify Chinese exclusion from the United States, it must be demonstrated that these immigrants trench upon the rights of American citizens. And this is attempted. The method used is to magnify defects of character, to decry national habits, and to draw up a bill of indictment against an entire race — a race that was venerable before this baby republic was a distant dream, and before the land which it controls had been discovered by Columbus. A very old and a very stubborn nation are we insulting and defying. Our stability, who can predict? China's seems like the earth's foundation.

China, looked at through impartial spectacles as a study, is a subject of wonder and respect; contemplated through the political glasses of hustling American "sovereigns," swollen with Anglo-Saxon pride and conceit, it is a "yellow peril" full of menace. This bogey was pictorially displayed in the yellowest of New York journals and reproduced approvingly in the pages of Mr. Bryan's *Commoner* — incongruous to one fresh from reading the editor's praise of the Declaration of Independence. Let me recall briefly the story of Chinese immigration in the United States, a chapter of disgrace which should bring a blush to every American cheek.

It is a matter of history how the Chinese were invited to the United States on equal terms with immigrants of other nations. Invited is a mild word; they were entreated to come and help build up the Pacific railroads, and something more than simple persuasion was used to entice the necessary number. In the early days of their coming they were treated with distinction and honor. In the public pageants of San Francisco they held positions of favor and prominence. All was well until race prejudice and jealousy, instigated by sand-lot demagogues, enlisted the more ignorant laboring men against the quiet and industrious Asiatics, who shunned intoxicating liquor and were outside of labor unions.

### POLITICS THE DICTATOR.

The clamor increasing and spreading, the question soon became a political one. California was an evenly balanced state, and its electoral vote in a Presidential election might turn the party scales. Blaine, with his eye on the Presidency, and eager to score every point on the road to success, adopted the war-cry of the lazy, discontented enemies of the Chinese, gilding his arguments with a plausible rhetoric that Dennis Kearney could not attain. The Democrats, not to be beaten at this game, vied with the Republicans in bidding for the labor vote of the coast. It was not the Chinese *per se* to which the leaders of either party objected; but Chinese proscription was the price willingly offered by both for the labor suffrage.

How easy it is to find excuses when a path of wrong is once entered! Negro slavery was justified on grounds which insult intelligence at this day; but before the war such justification seemed ample to the majority of the American people. The misrepresentation and abuse then showered upon the colored race have been transferred to the Chinese. The reasons, equally false and misleading, will in a better day be recalled only with contempt. The truth is that the yellow people are persecuted in place of the black because they are disfranchised and defenseless. Their bitter opponents have the ballot. In a republic a disfranchised class is powerless to preserve its own rights. Hence the present situation.

In reply to this statement of the case, we shall be told that our view is based on sentiment; that we have become a world power, and that the Declaration of Independence is obsolete; that our first consideration is our own material prosperity, and to accomplish that the welfare of other nations is not to be considered. Instead of rising on "stepping-stones of our dead selves to higher things," we must rise on the mangled bodies of men who died for liberty. We are advised to take a practical view of the situation, and to answer if we can the objections to Chinese immigration which appeal so strongly to the American Congress.

This we are glad to do. Let me include the common

objections in a single paragraph: The Chinese cannot assimilate with Americans; they earn money here and send it back to China; they underbid American labor; their manner of living is inexpensive and they are small consumers; they huddle together in great numbers, and their dwelling places are unsanitary and dangerous; crime and unchastity abound with them; in short, their influence is corrupting and they must go.

ASSIMILATION.

For men who hold in contempt an alien race to complain that it will not assimilate with them is sheer hypocrisy. When have the Chinese been invited to accept such closeness? A bludgeon is a poor instrument with which to effect assimilation. Persecution is not cementing, except to the people persecuted. Had the Chinamen been idle and habitués of the saloon, had they obtained the ballot and made themselves a power at the polls, apparently they would have demonstrated their adaptability for American institutions. The rumseller, the labor unions and the professional politician would not now be hounding them down. Only one sure way of assimilation exists, that of mutual respect and brotherly feeling. We have no right to complain of clannishness until we have extended equal rights and cordial treatment to these quiet, industrious, patient people of the Orient.

LOVE OF FAMILY A REPROACH.

The Chinese earn and send back money to their relatives at home. If this is reprehensible, what shall we say to the Irish and Germans, who send back millions where the Chinese send thousands? What to the Swedes, the Italians and other immigrants whose leading motive has been to save and succor the dear ones left behind? The week before Christmas a single German steamer carried back over eleven hundred thousand dollars to relatives in the fatherland. Love of family and respect for parents are traits that exalt a people. To cast blame upon a race for cherishing such virtues is to dishonor the accuser. What happiness and comfort have resulted from this unending tribute of affection which flows from the United States to the old and distant homes! Whether the bounty is received on the banks of "the pleasant river Lee" or the banks of the Canton River, human nature is ennobled by the act.

COMPETITION WITH AMERICAN LABOR.

For believers in the single tax, of all men, to make labor competition a just ground for excluding Chinese is indeed strange. They profess belief in freedom of trade, and yet single tax exclusionists are demanding protection for labor. As though the exclusion of goods and the exclusion of laborers were not one and the same in principle. Well does that extreme protectionist, Robert Ellis Thompson, say in the *Irish World:* "Our first duty is toward our own people, and as it is clearly impossible to maintain the American rate of wages and standard of living in the face of an unlimited immigration of Chinese coolies, they should not be allowed to come. No protectionist can take any other view. He cannot propose the exclusion of the products of cheap labor, while admitting the labor itself." A true and logical conclusion from Thompson's standpoint, but what stultification it is from free trade lips!

The Chinese did not come to this country to compete with American labor, but to perform work for which Americans could not be obtained. I remember myself the eagerness for the yellow men to construct the Northern Pacific Railroad, twenty years ago, when, in Oregon, I listened to the projectors discussing the difficulties of procuring immigrants enough. Competition! There were no white competitors. And even now, when Chinese labor is more diversified, and the uncomplaining, steady toilers are making themselves invaluable to the farmer and are succeeding in independent industries, they are not crowding out competent white workers. They are simply hated by the lazy and idle for their industry and thrift. Inferiority seeks protection against superiority. Which most benefits the country?

ECONOMY A REPROACH.

The Chinese are accused of living cheaply. Once such a course was considered a New England virtue. Our historians are fond of recurring to those early days when with scanty means there existed noble characteristics. From such conditions our great men sprung. On this count against the Chinese Abraham Lincoln might have been deported. Yet, in the time to come, I think he will still be rated as a greater benefactor to his native land than the lavish magnates of the Standard Oil Company and the great steel combination. But proscription is a poor way to encourage generous expenditure on the part of the persecuted. With decent treatment and equality before the law there would come freer investment and more expensive living on the part of the Chinese. Transient people rarely spend freely; the Forbeses, Russells and Cunninghams, who made their fortunes in China, were ungrateful enough to come home to invest it. Do we berate them for it? Give the Chinese justice, and there will be an inducement for them to anchor here and bring their families. Now we complain that they will not abide, and in the same breath assert that we shall be overwhelmed by them: statements that devour each other.

THEY HUDDLE TOGETHER.

The Chinese huddle together in unhealthful quarters, and form plague spots, it is asserted. Who is responsible for the aggregation? Persecuted people naturally combine and are forced to be clannish. Custom and language decree such a result. Other nationalities do the same for a while and then melt and mingle under the sunlight of freedom. The sun of democratic America is veiled to the Chinese. They swarm in contracted and unsanitary precincts because prejudice closes the door of better situations. It was once the same way in Boston with the colored people. They were confined to the north side of Beacon Hill. Since emancipation they have found homes at the South End, Roxbury and adjoining suburbs, and centrifugal forces are working. Chinatown in San Francisco is subject to the health laws of the city, which are not enforced. The repellent features of the place are a source of profit to Americans who exploit the field. Vicious features are carefully guarded, that they may be shown by policemen for a price to curious visitors. And the landlords reap extravagant rents from this mass of sure-paying tenants, whose very crowding enhances white revenues. The remedy is, and always has been, in the hands of the city government of San Francisco.

UNCHASTITY.

Unchastity exists. Yes. Where race hostility prohibits men from bringing with them wives and daughters with a view to permanent family life, what else is possible? Is it not rather a wonder that under the circumstances the offense is not more flagrant? Group together fifteen or twenty thousand Anglo-Saxons with the feminine element excluded, and Chinatown would be in comparison a model city. Compare with these alien people the American citizens that make up our army of conquest. In camp and barrack can be shown a code of morals and a practice of corruption more appalling than can be seen in the Chinese quarters of any city, with brutality of drink, from which our Chinese population are free, superadded.

I feel almost ashamed to answer seriously these trumped-up objections to our Asiatic brethren. They are manufactured solely to excuse our unchristian action, and obscure the real motive of restrictive legislation, which, first, last, and all the time, is political and selfish. Justice and fair play are the only solvents of the problem. If the issue were not a political one, how quickly would the public mind open to the situation and ordinarily humane views obtain. But when forced into party entanglements, affecting political ambitions and successes, no question can apparently be impartially considered, especially if the sufferers are themselves debarred from voting. When the Chinese get the ballot, as in time they surely will, unless imperialism prevails, and American citizens lose their own political rights, we shall see aspirants for high office "kowtowing" to the influential Chinamen, praising the virtues of the Flowery Kingdom, and "swiping" for the yellow vote. And the day will be welcome, because political subserviency is a decided advance upon race proscription and persecution.

EXCLUSION LAWS BREED AMERICAN CORRUPTION.

The question of civic corruption is too large to consider in this connection. It is notorious that United States officials find heavy revenues in their connivance at smuggling Chinese immigrants across the border. The higher the bars are put up the greater the price of assistance. My own conviction is that few Chinamen are really kept out by our stringent laws, and that this home-loving people would increase very little under absolute freedom of entry. Their migration keeps pace with their incoming. The greater question is the abandonment of our former standards of human liberty and the denial of our declaration in the Burlingame treaty, wherein the United States and China mutually recognized "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents." Inalienable rights do not change in a third of a century nor in ten thousand centuries.

THE SMALLNESS OF THE YELLOW PERIL.

For a great nation of seventy-five millions of people to be frightened by the advent of seventy-five thousand is surely one of the marvels of history. In twenty years there has been no apparent Chinese increase, the numbers departing exceeding the entrances. Every Chinaman in the country could be hidden in a single ward of Philadelphia, and yet such is the fear of these imperturbable, unobtrusive, persistent men that it is necessary to reverse the traditions and habits of the republic. It recalls the Scripture parallel, where one can chase a thousand, and two can put ten thousand to flight. To this it is answered that it is not the number here which is so startling, but the future possibilities, if the national doors are not closed to the inroad.

No proof is offered that the restrictive legislation is to be credited with this result. I commend to our dissenting friends the Dingley report of 1890, written by a student of European immigration, and published by the government. In it occurs the obvious truth that these imposing movements of population "are as irrepressible as they are irreversible. The stream may be dammed or diverted, but cannot be stopped. . . . Legislation falls flat. To stop emigration or to reduce emigration European nations must remove the causes which are behind emigration — land monopoly, landlordism, and militarism,"— words of golden truth. The poor people of other lands have come to us because we have been freer from these curses than the despotisms from which they fled. Now that we are cultivating the same causes, permitting a land monopoly almost unparalleled, safeguarding landlords with the federal power, and building up a wasteful and destructive militarism, the temptation to immigration must lessen. To flee from tyranny to tyranny is unnatural. More potent than congressional legislation to close our doors is the decrease of opportunity which we are assiduously trying to accomplish.

RACE PROSCRIPTION EPIDEMIC.

Exclusion cannot pause at the Chinese. It must spread not only to other Oriental peoples, but to the less favored of the Occidentals. My friend, Henry George, Jr., would discriminate and open the doors to the Japanese because they would assimilate with us. "A Japanese man in the United States," he says, "is a man who has an extreme eagerness to learn all that can be learned of our ways, of our fund of knowledge. He makes himself as nearly as possible one of us." On the other hand, Mr. Bryan would shut the Japanese out. He wishes our government to ask the Japanese government to place restriction on emigration and save us the trouble of putting up the bars ourselves. He says, "The matter should at once be brought to the attention of the Japanese authorities, and unless sufficient and satisfactory action is taken by the home government, the Chinese exclusion act should be made broad enough to extend to Japanese of the same class." And this is the leader of Democracy talking of "classes to be excluded" which another Democrat assures us are easily assimilated and are eager to learn of our ways and of our fund of knowledge. If that is Democracy, I am not a Democrat. As Mr. Lincoln said, "If this is coffee, give me tea; if it is tea, give me coffee."

THE TRUE REASON FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION.

After all these attempted excuses and unreal arguments, we look for the true cause of this antipathy to the Chinese. It does not require a microscope to discern that the entire question is a political one. The game is played for votes. The determining factor is organized labor, which is solid against competitors in the

labor market. The labor unions do not confine their opposition to Mongolians. The growing movement for more stringent laws to keep out European immigrants originates with them. Ambitious politicians of both parties fear to stem the tide and rush to get into line. Each party has its disgraceful exclusion plank. In spite of Blaine's success in first capturing the issue for the Republican party, Mr. Bryan is laboring to show that "many of the Republican leaders are in favor of the policy that will flood the country with cheap Chinese labor," and that exclusion is really Democratic thunder. He gilds his partisanship with this high-sounding flourish: "The question is whether we are going to build up a strong, independent, upright, and patriotic people, and develop a helpful influence on all the world, or whether we are going to be a greedy, grasping nation, forgetful of high ideals and concerned only in making money." High ideals, indeed! It is a sentiment reminiscent of utterances which linger in public memory about "criminal aggression" and "plain duty." The question of the "yellow peril" resolves itself into the question of capturing the labor vote of the United States.

CONCERNING LABOR UNIONS.

However necessary the counter combinations of skilled labor may be to offset the combinations of capital, the fact remains that their existence is an indication of evil social conditions. Nobody knows better than the single taxer how absolutely they fail to help the general wage earner. Labor unions include but a small fraction of the workers of the country, and are banded together for their own advantage. No altruistic motive enters into their scheme. They are, first, last, and all the time, for the organization and its members. Their ground is narrow and selfish, and in that respect they stand upon the same plane with capitalists.

Every strike bears evidence of this fact. No pity is shown to the unorganized laborers who rush of necessity to fill the vacant places. During the recent San Francisco strike there were said to have been over two thousand brutal assaults upon non-union men by the strikers. Who can forget the murderous attack upon the negro laborers in Illinois under Governor Tanner's administration? Such conduct is inspired by the same ignorant blindness that once destroyed labor-saving machinery, of which there was a revival in Northamptonshire, England, last month, when an instalment of new shoe machinery was made.

However one may view the lack of economic intelligence shown by these militant organizations, no one questions their vast political power. For their support politicians humble themselves, and for their votes high bids are made. Association with them is often a path to political preferment.

The union of labor for self-protection against the oppression of wealth cannot reasonably be decried, but when it in turn becomes an aggressor upon less fortunate workers, it is time to raise a voice of protest. Especially now, when organized labor is at the bottom, not only of Chinese persecution and exclusion, but is responsible for the increasingly stringent anti-immigration laws against Europeans, as well as Asiatics. It is another phase of the protection policy, cruel, selfish and futile; but if you condense all the exclusion arguments with their sweeping indictments against whole races, there will remain a single, definite, all-explanatory residue, a desire to command the labor votes for personal schemes and party ends. In this light, humane considerations become irrelevant and impertinent.

FALSE ANALOGIES.

A San Francisco single tax paper asserts that "we have a right to exclude any objectionable character from our home or from membership in our family, and so has a nation, a family on a large scale, the right to prohibit the immigration of the people of any undesirable race, particularly when self-preservation makes such a course necessary."

Are family and country analogous? A man's home is the product of labor, and to it privacy attaches by right. It is for the owners to decide who shall or shall not be admitted. Hence the recognized justice of the English law that a man's house is his castle. This is based on property grounds, and I need not waste time in explaining to single taxers the distinction between property and natural opportunity. A man may build a dwelling and make it as exclusive as he wishes. This does not, however, give him a right to exclude people from the territory where he happens to live. He did not make the territory. Consequently the parallel between exclusive house ownership and exclusive land control does not hold. The contrast is impressive.

Once grant that a nation has a right to shut out other people seeking it without hostile intentions, and a state, city, yes, even the ward of a city, may equally decree proscription. When a land is invaded for the purpose of injury and theft, as are South Africa and the Philippines, the law of nations justifies resistance of the extremest kind; but personal dislike of foreign and strange immigrants is no excuse for maltreatment or barring out.

If the earth is the Lord's, and not the landlord's, the only valid prohibition must be a divine one. The present chance inhabitants of the United States, immigrants themselves or descendants of immigrants, are usurping the prerogatives of a higher power when they forbid entrance to the Chinese. We who oppose restrictive laws deny, with the San Francisco paper, the right of immigrants to invade the personal property of a single human being; but we ask by what right the almost boundless domain of this country is forcibly closed to them? How does the fact of getting here first confer the right of shutting others out? And what right have labor unions or politicians to deny to those who prefer the services of the Chinese the privilege of employing them at will? The Geary law infringes American as well as foreign rights.

A MUDDLED CHRISTIANITY.

How strange it is that the country most bitterly opposed to Oriental immigration should profess to worship an Oriental Christ and to hold an Oriental religion. The truth is that, although formally adopted, Christianity has never been naturalized by Western peoples. Our very treatment of the Chinese shows that our religion is simply one of profession. This nation's practice contravenes the fundamental principles of Jesus; and, while from its pulpits inculcations of peace and brotherly love are preached, it fosters great armies and navies for slaughtering fellow-men whom Christ bade his disciples

to love and serve. Mock followers of the Oriental Messiah, we are in reality worshipers of a rapacious and bloody god of force, to whom our chaplains pray before their regiments enter battle.

OTHER PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

I speak of Christianity because the belief that this earth was created for all the children of men, and not for a favored few, is an embodiment of the teachings of Jesus and the foundation stone of our single tax reform. To advocate race exclusion is to discredit our own sacred principle. Conceding, for argument s sake, that discomfort and privation might for a time result from an American application of the Golden Rule, how about the gain and benefit to the foreigners whom we shelter? When and where in the discussion of immigration do we hear from exclusionists one word of concern for these hated people or a word of rejoicing in their improved well-being?

So far from considering the immigrant's gain an offset to our possible loss, all arguments for their prohibition are baldly selfish. The welfare of the poorest Chinaman, whether in San Francisco or in Canton, is, in a Christian and humane point of view, deserving of equal consideration with that of the proudest Anglo-Saxon that exists. As Wendell Phillips said in his memorable address on Harper's Ferry, "I am talking of that absolute essence of things which lives in the sight of the Eternal and the Infinite; not as men judge it in the rotten morals of the nineteenth century, among a herd of states that calls itself an empire, because it raises cotton and sells slaves."

FEDERAL EXCLUSION THE PRELUDE TO IMPERIALISM.

It is a satisfaction that there is no dissension among single taxers on the question of imperialism. They are united in opposition to this undemocratic conquest and murder of weaker races. But the exercise of Federal power to stop immigration was clearly a link in the chain of imperial aggrandizement. In 1893 David Dudley Field saw the dangerous tendency and sounded the alarm. These are his prophetic words: "In our own history we see unmistakable proofs of a strong flood tide settling in towards federal sovereignty. To go no further than the Chinese deportation act of the last session, enacted and upheld on the plea of federal sovereignty, it needs no prophet to foretell that, if the foundation of that enactment be not dashed in pieces, the incoming century will see this nation either broken into fragments or converted into a consolidated republic, another name for despotism, which would be but a prelude to anarchy, and that but a prelude to an empire, and that but another name for an emperor and military dominion."

THE ETHICAL VERDICT.

It is a comfort, when public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of racial injustice, to turn to the testimony of unselfish men.

In 1879, less than three months before his death, William Lloyd Garrison thus wrote to James G. Blaine: "Against this hateful spirit of caste I have earnestly protested for the last fifty years, wherever it has developed itself, especially in the case of another class, for many generations still more contemned, degraded and oppressed; and the time has fully come to deal with it as an offense to God, and a curse to the world wherever it seeks to bear sway. The Chinese are our fellowmen, and are entitled to every consideration that our common humanity may justly claim."

In 1892 Phillips Brooks wrote: "The legislation on the Chinese Restriction Act is most humiliating, and demands the indignation and remonstrance of every citizen who cares for justice and his country and humanity. Surely all good men must desire its repeal."

In 1882 James Freeman Clark declared that "The whole spirit of this crusade is opposed to the spirit of humanity," and after describing the Chinese, asked, "Are we then ready to exclude such a people as this?" adding, "Lowell in his Commemoration Ode makes our country say that she has 'room about her hearth for all mankind.' Shall we who profess to be in advance of other nations go back to a poor mediæval system of exclusion? . . . The politician calls this sentimentalism; but the true statesman knows that such sentiments of justice, brotherhood and honor are the foundation rocks which support the republic. Let these be taken away to satisfy the cry of partisans, and all that is strong and good in the nation goes down into ruin."

Senator Hoar also bore this testimony: "These measures not only violate our treaty engagements with a friendly nation, but they violate the principles upon which the American republic rests, striking not at crime or even pauperism, but striking at human beings because of their race, and at laboring men because they are laborers."

## The Powers and the Missionaries.

BY MARY S. ROBINSON.

In view of the deplorable transforming of missionaries into soldiers during the late and not yet concluded warfare between the Chinese and the Occidentals; in view of the widespread hatred now manifest, evoked by the policy of the European powers toward peoples and governments weaker than their own; in view, also, of the abduction of Miss Stone and of the likelihood of a repetition of such abduction in the future, — it seems to many that the time has come — nay, that it came long ago — for the representatives of the foreign missionary societies to protest against a secular policy diametrically opposed to the teaching for which those societies stand: a policy which has compromised foreign missions and missionaries in the estimation of the civilized world. The chief obstacle to the diffusion of the Christian teaching in non-Christian countries to-day proceeds not from the people of those countries, but from European thrones and cabinets and arsenals. The European sovereign, with his lieutenants, is the exponent of the war power, the feeder of land hunger, the procurer for the greed of domination. The first provocation leading up to the late outbreak in China was the Opium War of 1839, the initial of a series of compulsions, appropriations, creations of "spheres of influence," and of other outrages innumerable, such as no people worthy of the name ought to endure for one hour. That outbreak was the occasion for the collision of the theoretical Christian and the secular un-Christian policies. In the collision the theoretical Christian suc-

cumbed, and so was made a disgraceful, humiliating page in the history of Christian missions and in the history of the powers.

The spectacle of the South African War, the cruelties continually inflicted on the natives of the Congo Free State by the Belgian functionaries, the like cruelties inflicted by the German functionaries of German Africa, the extinction in process of the Hovahs by the French functionaries in Madagascar, and eminently the policy of the powers in China, — what more formidable obstacles than these to the diffusion of Christianity can be conceived? A Romanist of the present may well smile at certain Protestant assumptions of superior morality. "You affect to scorn our martial prince-bishops of the mediæval era," such an one may say. "You pour contempt on the sword-bearers, the Knights Templars who conquered Lithuania, Livonia and other lands. You condemn the forced baptisms ordered by Charlemagne. Well, how much more advanced over these are Protestant Britain and Protestant America, whose high civil and military officials — church members to a man — make war on inoffensive non-Christians, doom whole races to extinction and clear a pathway for your missionaries with the sword and the bullet? How much better than we are Britain and Boer, each with his Bible to back his fratricide? How much better is the American general, forcing liberty and civilization on the Filipino with the bayonet and the shotgun?"

If ever there was an urgent moment for a protest and petition of all Christians, more especially of the representatives of the foreign missionary societies, against the general conduct of the powers toward races non-Christian and relatively weak, this is the moment. Everywhere outside of Western Christendom aversion to, hatred of, that conduct are manifest; and in every Christian country the advanced humanitarian mind is expressing itself against the motives underlying the conduct — war, greed of territory and of dominion, international antipathy. Why, then, should the functionaries we refer to be the last to fall in with the new order? Come to the rescue of your non-Christian fellows and of yourselves, oh ye secretaries and directors of foreign missions! Come speedily or see your cause obscured, yourselves humiliated for many a year of the future!

## Petition to Congress.

The following petition is being extensively circulated and signed throughout the United States. Those who wish to do so can copy it, sign it with their address, get others to do so, and then send it to Charles D. Pierce, 136 Liberty Street, New York. It is expected that the petition will have over two million signatures when it is presented to Congress:

To the Congress of the United States:—

Whereas, the subject of the universal peace conference assembled at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1899, was to promote the maintenance of general peace and the establishment of friendly offices and mediation among the nations of the world;

And whereas, in the opinion of the subscribers, the present condition of affairs in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State calls for a similar expression and offer of "friendly offices and mediation" of our people through their government;

And whereas, the United States, ever since the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, has been the sympathetic friend of oppressed nations throughout the world, having freely displayed its sympathy for France in the days of the first Republic, for Greece in her struggle for independence, for Hungary, for Poland, for Mexico, for the South American Republics, for Armenia and for Cuba, and has repeatedly expressed such sympathy through resolutions passed by the Congress of the United States, and there is no intention, on the part of the subscribers, to suggest any action by the Congress that could be construed as, internationally, of an unfriendly character, or as going beyond the limits heretofore observed in former resolutions:

Now, therefore, the undersigned, citizens of the State of . . . . . residing in the . . . . . Congressional district thereof, hereby request their representative in Congress and the Senators from their State, in Congress assembled, to advocate and sustain by their votes the passage in Congress of the following resolution, or a resolution of like import, to wit:

Resolved, by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the people of the United States feel a strong sympathy with the people of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State; that they are pained by the report of present sufferings of this Christian people, and they unite in the hope that this declaration, which they feel it their duty to make, will be favorably considered by the government of Great Britain in a settlement of their unfortunate differences.

Section 2. And be it further resolved, That it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to communicate this resolution to the government of Great Britain.

## Members of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration.

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OF THE
# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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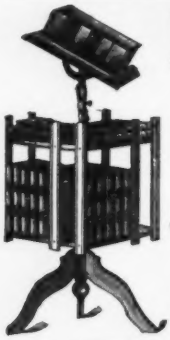

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